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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members. 312 653

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?" 312 653 554 [565]

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of this money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however, 312

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[838] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
• 565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

511 qualify any such remarks with a statement that everyone
621 in Sanlei is poor. The families which are usually con-
565 sidered poor and most clearly set apart from the general village population are those which do not have a vigorous adult member.

735 There is considerable cooperation in supporting the seven poorest families of the sixty-six families in the village. As previously described, poor people are often guests at the pai pai in their neighbor's homes. There are also reductions in the prices they pay for goods and services as illustrated by the previously discussed case of the barber and free haircuts. Additionally, both village stores charge less than the normal price and often put items on a charge account with no expectation they will ever be paid. The most important aid however is with regard to food and wood for poor families are permitted to grow sweet potatoes on little plots of land they do not own but which otherwise might be left unused. If no one in the family is capable of working the plot, farmers who pass by will regularly contribute little increments of
[578] labor to manage the plots. The poor are also permitted to help themselves to certain products, particularly the poor grade vegetables and gleanings and wood although the theft of wood and vegetables by anyone who was not poor was probably the chief source of conflict in the village.

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[391] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
194 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms